1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs ('Αρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[1] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[1] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., the term "Vlachs" - Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsani*. Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

S 186 648 [619]

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

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In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakatsani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

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58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible]

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

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619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
191 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

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619 Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One
186 does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter
[474] being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani
474 society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically
596 limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

199 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

825 /282 cont./
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[193] according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[191] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Nevertheless, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
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19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacraments. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

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771 who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand,
186 since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the
177 Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism
829 with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend
[429] themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another
539 kind and very significant for our point of view.
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829 --One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are 829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 521 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

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35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

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The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

[422] [583] [273] 592

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"The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt, for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

152 [481] [648]

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But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

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Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara-Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000